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1962/11/16

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State ACTION COPY PERMANENT RECORD

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Action
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Control: 6155
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 16, 1962
9:37 P. M.

537

FROM: NEW YORK

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1835, NOVEMBER 16, 8 p. m.

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MAY 1964

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CUBA

FOL ARE PROPOSED TEXT OF LETTER AND DRAFT DECLARATION FOR SUBMITTAL SHORTLY TO KUZNETSOV IN EFFORT MOVE QUICKLY TOWARD AGREEMENT ON ALL OUTSTANDING POINTS. THESE ARE DESIGNED TO BE INITIAL BARGAINING POSITION FROM WHICH WE WOULD EXPECT BE FORCED REcede IN CERTAIN RESPECTS, AND WE WOULD NEED TO GIVE VERY CAREFUL THOUGHT AS TO EXTENT AND TIMING OF ANY CONCESSIONS AS PART OF BARGAINING OVER THESE TEXTS AND USSR TEXT OF ITS OWN PROPOSED DECLARATIONS.

WE SEE ADVANTAGES, HOWEVER, IN PRESENTING AT AN EARLY DATE TEXT ALONG THESE LINES WITHOUT WAITING FOR DECISION ON BARGAINING TACTICS, POSSIBLE CONCESSIONS OR ALTERNATIVES.

"DEAR MR. KUZNETSOV:

"AT OUR MEETING ON NOV 13, YOU ASKED FOR THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE OF A US DECLARATION IN THE SC, WHICH TOGETHER WITH A SOVIET DECLARATION WOULD CONCLUDE THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE INTRODUCTION OF WEAPONS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE INTO CUBA.

"I ENCLOSE A DRAFT DECLARATION WHICH WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO READ IN THE SC AFTER YOURS HAS BEEN READ. IT IS BASED, OF COURSE, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE SOVIET DECLARATION WOULD CONTAIN APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES WITH RESPECT TO THE FOL:

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- ✓ "1. THAT ALL MEDIUM AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES (AND RELATED EQUIPMENT) HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM CUBA.
- ✓ "2. THAT ALL SITES IN CUBA FOR SUCH MISSILES HAVE BEEN DISMANTLED (AND THE LAUNCHING PADS AND CONNECTED CONSTRUCTION DEMOLISHED).
- ✓ "3. THAT ALL ~~MISSILE~~ BOMBERS HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM CUBA.
- ✓ "4. THAT ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM CUBA. ~~SYSTEMS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE~~
- ✓ "5. THAT NO WEAPONS ~~WITH OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES~~ WILL BE INTRODUCED INTO CUBA IN THE FUTURE.
- "6. THAT COMPLIANCE WITH THE FOREGOING HAS BEEN (OR WILL BE) VERIFIED IN CUBA BY OBSERVERS APPOINTED BY THE ACTING SYG OF THE UN.
- || "7. THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONCURRED IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR UN SAFEGUARDS AGAINST FUTURE INTRODUCTION INTO CUBA OF WEAPONS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE.

"WE TRUST THAT YOU WILL SEND US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE YOUR DRAFT DECLARATION COVERING THE ABOVE POINTS. WE WILL THEN BE AVAILABLE AT YOUR CONVENIENCE TO DISCUSS BOTH DRAFT DECLARATIONS WITH YOU, WITH A VIEW TO THEIR PROMPT PRESENTATION TO THE SC AND CONCLUSION OF THIS AGREEMENT."

IN THE LETTERS OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY ON OCTOBER 27 AND OF PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY ON OCTOBER 28, 1962 FIRM UNDERTAKINGS WERE MADE REGARDING A SETTLEMENT OF THE CUBAN CRISIS.

THESE UNDERTAKINGS WERE STATED IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 27 ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

- (1) THE USSR WOULD AGREE TO REMOVE FROM CUBA, UNDER APPROPRIATE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVATION AND SUPERVISION, ALL WEAPONS SYSTEMS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE AND WOULD UNDERTAKE, WITH SUITABLE SAFEGUARDS, TO HALT THE FURTHER INTRODUCTION OF SUCH WEAPONS SYSTEMS INTO CUBA.
- (2) THE UNITED STATES WOULD AGREE - UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS TO ENSURE THE CARRYING OUT AND CONTINUATION OF THESE COMMITMENTS

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-- (A) TO REMOVE PROMPTLY THE QUARANTINE MEASURES NOW IN EFFECT, AND (B) TO GIVE ASSURANCES AGAINST AN INVASION OF CUBA; THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED HIS CONFIDENCE THAT OTHER NATIONS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO LIKEWISE.

THE UNITED STATES NOTES THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE SOVIET UNION THAT ALL MEDIUM AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES, ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND COMPONENTS, AND ALL IL-28 BOMBER AIRCRAFT HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM CUBA, AND THAT ALL SITES FOR MEDIUM RANGE AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES HAVE BEEN DISMANTLED. IT ALSO NOTES THE STATEMENT OF THE USSR, CONCURRED IN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA, THAT NO WEAPONS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE WILL BE FURTHER INTRODUCED INTO CUBA. WE WELCOME THESE ASSURANCES.

THE UNITED STATES ALSO NOTES THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL, AND CONCURRED IN BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE US, THE USSR, AND CUBA, FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO VERIFY THAT THE ABOVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS WITH OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM CUBA AND THE MISSILE SITES DISMANTLED, AND FOR UNITED NATIONS SAFEGUARDS TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS NO FURTHER INTRODUCTION OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE INTO CUBA.

IN CONSEQUENCE THE UNITED STATES ANNOUNCES THAT IT HAS ALREADY REMOVED THE QUARANTINE MEASURES WHICH IT PUT INTO EFFECT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ORGAN OF CONSULTATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES ON OCTOBER 23, 1962.

ON THE UNDERSTANDING AND CONDITION THAT THE UNITED NATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREED ARRANGEMENTS, VERIFIES THE REMOVAL FROM CUBA OF ALL MEDIUM AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES, ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND COMPONENTS, ALL IL-28 BOMBERS AND THE DISMANTLEMENT OF ALL MEDIUM AND INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILE SITES IN CUBA, AND THAT THERE IS CONTINUING COMPLIANCE UNDER [THE] AGREED SAFEGUARDS, WITH THE OBLIGATION THAT NO WEAPONS WITH OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES ARE FURTHER INTRODUCED INTO CUBA, THE UNITED STATES HEREWITHE GIVES ITS ASSURANCES AGAINST AN INVASION OF CUBA. THE

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WLL RECOMMEND
~~UNITED STATES IS PREPARED THAT UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS,~~
~~AND ON THE BASIS OF THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE PART OF~~
~~THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA, OTHER NATIONS OF THE WESTERN~~
~~HEMISPHERE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DO LIKEWISE.~~

THESE ASSURANCES ARE GIVEN IN CONNECTION WITH THE CARRYING
OUT OF UNDERTAKINGS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET
GOVERNMENT. NOTHING HEREIN CONTAINED IMPAIRS THE RIGHTS AND
OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE UNITED
NATIONS CHARTER AND UNDER THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.
THEY DID NOT IMPAIR THE RIGHTS OR OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED
STATES UNDER THE CHARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR THE
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES OR UNDER THE INTER-AMERICAN
TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE.

STEVENSON

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RELAYED: WHITE HOUSE 11/16 - 9:40 p. m.

NOTE: Advance copies to SS. Passed to Principal Officers of the
Executive Committee 11-16-62 CWO-M

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